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AUTHOR Brody, Elaine M.; Schoonover, Claire B.  
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## ABSTRACT

Middle-aged women have traditionally been the main care providers for their elderly relatives. As the percentage of these women who are employed increases and family size decreases, this support for the elderly may decline. To examine the impact of women's work on their parent care activities, the following three members of each of 150 families were interviewed: (1) the elderly widowed mother who needed support; (2) her caregiving married daughter; and (3) the daughter's husband. The interviews measured the number of hours of help per week given to the elderly mothers by each of seven types of potential informal and formal providers. The sample was divided into working daughter and non-working daughter groups. The results indicated that both groups provided equal amounts of help with housework, telephoning, managing money, arranging services, shopping, transportation, and emotional support. Working daughters provided fewer hours of help with personal care and meal preparation. When daughters worked, other family members and paid helpers offset the fewer hours of service provided by daughters. Almost all help was provided by family or paid for privately, with few of the elderly receiving any subsidized help. References and data tables are appended. (ABL)

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PATTERNS OF PARENT-CARE WHEN ADULT DAUGHTERS<sup>1</sup>  
WORK AND WHEN THEY DO NOT

Elaine M. Brody, M.S.W., and Claire B. Schoonover, M.A.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>  
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<sup>2</sup>  
Principal Investigator and Project Director, respectively, of "Women, Work, and Care of the Aged", Philadelphia Geriatric Center, 5301 Old York Road, Philadelphia, PA 19141. Work supported by NIMH Grant #MH35252.

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# ABSTRACT

Patterns of help to disabled elderly widows are described as they vary when caregiving adult daughters work and when they do not. Mothers of the 2 work-status groups received the same total number of hours of help from all sources combined. Employed and nonworking daughters provided equal amounts of help with shopping/transportation, household tasks, managing money/service arrangement, and emotional support. Workers provided less personal care and cooking than nonworkers, with the difference being offset by purchased help.

Key words: Parent Care, Women's Employment, Caregiving to Aged, Informal vs. Formal Services

The rapid increase in labor force participation by women -- particularly by middle-aged women who are the traditional providers of care to widowed elderly parents and the main helpers to the old with disabled spouses -- poses significant questions as to a potential reduction or reallocation of filial care. Between 1940 and 1979, the proportion of working married women rose from 11 to almost 56%. Sixty-two percent of all women between the ages of 45 and 54 now work, as do 42% of those who are 55 to 64 (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1984). The issue of parent care becomes increasingly pertinent in the context of continuing demographic and social trends such as the steady increase in the number and proportion of very old people in the population (those who are the most vulnerable to disability) and the decrease in family size.

There are many unanswered questions relating to these intersecting trends. A Philadelphia Geriatric Center (PGC) study was designed, therefore, to explore the effects of women's work-force participation on the care of their elderly parents. The portion of the project data reported here addresses some aspects of the situation by examining patterns of care to the aged as they may vary with the work status of caregiving daughters. The paper responds to questions such as: Do the disabled elderly receive less care when such daughters work than when they do not? Does the apportionment of care among various informal and formal providers differ in accordance with those daughters' work status?

It has been well established that the informal support network (notably the family) rather than the formal system

(government and agencies) provides the bulk of long-term health and social care to the disabled elderly (Comptroller General, 1977; Doty et al., 1985). Though the myth of neglectful and uncaring children has persisted (Shanas, 1979a), researchers continue to find that strong and pervasive norms of family responsibility to the elderly are at work in contemporary society, and that those norms are operationalized in actual caregiving behavior (Brody, 1985).

Concern has been expressed that this traditional base of family help may be undermined by the expansion of formal services. Such displacement is not supported by the research evidence, however. Zimmer and Sainer (1978) found, for example, that families requesting agency assistance are usually modest in their requests, seeking such aid for support rather than to substitute for their own caregiving efforts. In the same vein, a study of the effects of community services on levels of informal involvement found "little evidence to support the concern that (these programs) would substitute for family efforts to any significant extent" (Horowitz et al., 1983a). Likewise, Weissert's recent review of experiments providing community care services concluded that such services are used as an add-on rather than to replace existing care (Weissert, 1985).

Definitive data are limited on the typical size of the informal networks supporting the dependent elderly. While most studies of caregiving focus on the individual who is the "principal caregiver," one review of the literature noted that both one-caregiver networks and those comprised of two or more

individuals have been reported to be the most prevalent (Spivak et al., 1984). Estimates of network size and characteristics may also vary among different groups of respondents. In one study, for example, the elderly and their adult children generally agreed on the identity of the primary provider and the overall hierarchy of sources of help, but differed on the size of the network, its composition, and the relative centrality of the various family members' roles. In addition, the children consistently named more people than did the elderly informants as being involved in both caregiving and decision-making networks (Townsend & Poulshock, in press).

The size of the informal network may also vary with the characteristics of the dependent person. In several investigations, for example, the caregiving networks of elderly widows included a greater diversity of providers than those of married older people, with more frequent involvement of extended kin, friends, neighbors, and paid sources of help (Cantor, 1979; Johnson & Catalano, 1983; O'Brien & Wagner, 1980).

In general, the informal support network tends to be structured hierarchically, based primarily on the service provider's relationship to the older person (spouse, near-kin, distant kin, and friends), but also on geographic proximity (Spivak et al., 1984). Spouses, adult children, and children-in-law play central roles for most of the dependent elderly. Much previous research has established the role of daughters as the primary helpers to the old with disabled spouses, and as providers of the bulk of the help received by widowed older people

(Brody, 1978; Horowitz, 1982; Myllyuoma & Soldo, 1980; Shanas, 1979b; Troll, 1971). For the most part, friends and neighbors play much smaller roles in the helping network; though they are important resources when children are absent or unavailable, their efforts do not approach those of family members in duration or intensity (Spivak et al., 1984; Cantor, 1979; Stoller & Stoller, 1983; Johnson, 1979). Friends and neighbors, however, often serve to link the elderly to needed services in the community (Koser, 1981).

While estimates of the size of the informal network and its members' overall contributions vary, the support services it provides are generally grouped as follows: personal care (e.g., bathing, feeding, and dressing); instrumental activities inside and outside the home (e.g., housework, laundry, meal preparation, shopping, and transportation); home maintenance and repair; emotional support; and "linkage" services (arranging for and providing access to needed formal services). Moreover, within each family network, support services may be highly diversified, and the number of tasks performed by any one family member impressively long (Frankfather et al., 1979).

In the main, the distribution of the various kinds of tasks among informal providers appears to be gender-specific or based on degree of relatedness (see Brody, 1985, for review). Personal care and instrumental services are most often provided by spouses (for the married) or by adult daughters (for the widowed elderly), while sons tend to help with certain gender-defined services such as money management. Daughters, however, are 3

times more likely than sons to share their households with a dependent elderly parent.

Estimates as to the actual extent of family help vary considerably, with many factors being relevant. As would be expected, the amount of help provided is directly related to the level of the older person's functional disability (e.g., Caro & Blank, 1984; Spivak et al., 1984). Among the many other relevant variables are family structure; the quality of the relationship between an elderly person and caregiver; economic resources; other demands on family members' time and energy; the degree of relatedness; and urban/rural, socio-economic, and ethnic factors.

Given the pivotal role of adult daughters in the informal support system, it is often assumed that women's parent care activities are necessarily reduced when they are employed. Research findings that focus on that issue, however, are sparse, tentative, and sometimes contradictory. Overall, scattered findings indicate that women who work continue to help their elderly family members while continuing to meet their responsibilities to families and jobs. Such daughters deal with their multiple responsibilities by maintaining rigid schedules, negotiating parent care tasks around their work schedules, and giving up their own free time (Cantor, 1983; Horowitz et al., 1983b; Lang & Brody, 1983).

Predictors of caregiving involvement that have been identified as being more significant than the daughter's employment status are geographic proximity, the level of the parent's impairment, responsibilities other than work (e.g., being

married), and sharing a household with the dependent elderly person (Horowitz, 1982; Lang & Brody, 1983). One study found few significant differences between working and nonworking daughters in the types of tasks performed for the elderly (Horowitz et al., 1983b).

This paper approaches the issue of women's labor force participation and its effects on parent care by describing the caregiving patterns evident in a data set from a study in which half of the caregiving daughters worked and half did not. Other reports from the same study have examined the differential effects of parent care on working and nonworking women (Brody et al., 1983; Brody et al., 1984). This descriptive analysis approaches the issue from the opposite perspective -- that is, the effects of women's work status on patterns of parent care.

#### Method

##### Sample

Personal interviews were conducted during 1981 and 1982 with 3 members of each of 150 Philadelphia-area families. All families in the sample included an elderly widowed woman living in the community who needed some supportive services, and whose principal caregiver was a married daughter. The research design specified that the sample be divided according to the work status of the caregiver. The widows, the caregiving daughters, and the husbands of the latter were interviewed for their distinctive perspectives on the parent-care situation. The sample was drawn from women who volunteered in response to newspaper publicity

about the study, or to information that was disseminated by cooperating employers and religious organizations.

Table 1 summarizes selected demographic characteristics of  
(insert Table 1)

the caregivers according to their work-status. As the table indicates, the sample is characterized by considerable demographic and socio-economic diversity. Both the working daughters and their elderly mothers were somewhat younger than the non-working daughters and their mothers. The working daughters also had more years of education, held higher status jobs than the jobs the nonworkers had held in the past, and had higher family incomes. Situations in which the mother and daughter share a household are over-represented because the sample was deliberately drawn to include roughly equal proportions of shared and separate living arrangements.

#### The Instrument

The findings are derived from the daughters' responses to questions in the interview schedule about the number of hours of help per week given to their elderly mothers by each of seven types of potential informal or formal providers. These questions were asked for seven kinds of supportive helping services. The informal sources of help were: the daughters themselves, the daughters' husbands, others in the daughters' households, other family members, and friends or neighbors; the formal sources of help were helpers paid by the mother or other family members, and helpers subsidized by government or community agencies. The kinds of help were categorized as: (1) personal care (including

bathing, dressing, feeding, toileting, taking medicine, following medical instructions, getting around the house, personal grooming, and getting in and out of bed); (2) housework and laundry; (3) meal preparation; (4) using the telephone; (5) managing money and arranging needed services; (6) grocery shopping and transportation; and (7) emotional support.

#### Analytic Method

The research questions guiding the analysis were: Did the amounts of help received by the elderly mothers in the two work-status groups differ as measured by the total number of hours of help they received each week from all sources? Did the patterns of family and formal help to the elderly mothers vary in accordance with the work status of the daughters? If so, what was the apportionment of caregiving responsibility across the informal and formal networks of support under the two work-status conditions?

Initially, the caregiving daughters were divided into 3 work status groups: full-time workers, part-time workers, and non-workers. However, so few significant differences between part-time and full-time workers were revealed in preliminary regressions that they could have occurred by chance. Therefore, those 2 groups were combined for this analysis.

For each task, the total number of hours of help per week to the elderly mothers of workers and nonworkers were compared, using t-tests to determine differences between means. The alpha level for the evaluation of t values was set at .05, and a two-tailed test utilized to consider the probability of differences in both directions of the distributions.

Since comparison of the amounts of help would be meaningful only in relation to the functional capacities of the 2 groups of mothers, their mean scores from selected elements of the PGC's Multi-Level Assessment Instrument (MAI) (Lawton et al., 1982) were calculated. The MAI measures behavioral competence, deriving summary functional ability scores for personal care activities, instrumental activities of daily living, and shopping/transportation. The ranges of these 3 scores represent degrees of competence, from an inability to perform any task without some level of help to an ability to perform all of the composite tasks without any help.

To account for any variations in the amounts of care provided to the 2 groups of mothers, the relationships of the mothers' functional capacities to the number of hours of help they received for each task were compared across the 2 work-status groups. Preliminary correlations on the entire sample of 150 families revealed a statistically significant inverse relationship between the elderly mothers' functional abilities and the total number of hours of help provided ( $r = -.58$ ,  $df = 148$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Therefore, any significant differences in the number of hours of help provided to mothers in the 2 work-status groups might be more readily explained in terms of their respective capacities in the particular task area(s) being examined.

The apportionment of caregiving responsibility among the various informal and formal providers in each group was examined by first determining, for each task, the percentage of the total hours of help that was contributed by each provider. To assess

any variations between the 2 groups with respect to each provider's actual contribution, the mean number of hours of help per week from each were compared, using two-tailed t-tests to determine significant differences.

Finally, to ascertain the overall balance of parent care responsibility between the informal and formal networks, the various combinations of providers across all tasks were abstracted and the percentage of cases addressed by each combination determined. This procedure identified each network's sphere of parent care responsibility (including the proportion of cases in which the two networks jointly provided care), and illuminated any differences between the 2 work-status groups in their utilization of informal versus formal sources of help.

### Findings

#### Types and Amounts of Help Received

As shown in Table 2, there were no significant differences

(insert Table 2)

in the number of hours of help received by the mothers in the 2 groups, though in relation to some tasks, mothers of working women received slightly fewer hours of help. Also shown in Table 2 is that, in both work-status categories, the most frequently-provided types of assistance were help with shopping/transportation (about 90% of each group) and emotional support (85% of the nonworkers' mothers and 92% of the workers' mothers). Assistance with managing money and arranging services, and help with housework/laundry were next in frequency (78% of the nonworkers' mothers received help with both of these tasks, while 75% of the

workers' mothers received help with managing money and arranging services and 69% received assistance with housework/laundry). Help with meal preparation was provided to 62% of the nonworking daughters' mothers and 49% of the workers' mothers. Sixty-one percent of the nonworkers' mothers and 44% of the workers' mothers received help with personal care.

While it is apparent that a larger percentage of the mothers of nonworking daughters received help with personal care and all instrumental tasks, this difference as well as the slightly fewer hours of help provided in the working category, may be explained by the respective capacities of the mothers in the 2 groups.

Table 3 indicates that the mothers of employed daughters were, in

(insert Table 3)

fact, somewhat more functionally capable than those of nonworking daughters, although the differences between the groups did not quite reach statistical significance at the .05 level.

To summarize this set of findings, there were no significant differences in the actual amounts of help received by the mothers in the 2 work-status groups. Mothers of nonworking women, however, were somewhat less functionally capable and larger proportions of them received certain kinds of help.

#### Sources of Help

Table 4 shows that daughters in both work-status categories

(insert Table 4)

provided the overwhelming majority of the help given for all tasks, although working daughters and helpers paid by the family were almost equally involved in the personal care of the elderly

mothers. In both work-status groups, the daughters' husbands and other family members (separately or together) provided most of the remaining hours of help with the most frequently-provided tasks (shopping/transportation, emotional support, and managing money/ arranging services, respectively). Helpers paid by family members provided most of the remaining hours of help with housework/laundry and personal care in both groups and were also active in preparing meals. Friends/neighbors were the least frequent source of help for all types of services.

In comparing the actual number of hours of help given by the various providers under both work-status conditions, it is apparent from Table 4 that nonworking and working daughters provided similar amounts of help with five of the seven categories of tasks: housework/laundry, telephoning, managing money/arranging services, shopping/transportation, and emotional support. There was a statistically significant difference between non-working and working daughters, however, in the number of hours of help they provided with two types of tasks. Specifically, working daughters provided fewer hours of help with personal care and meal preparation ( $p < .05$ ). The contribution of only one type of alternative provider was significantly greater when daughters worked: others in the daughters' households provided more help with housework/laundry. The individual average contributions of all other providers did not differ significantly between the 2 work-status groups.

Though employed and nonworking daughters' average contributions differed significantly for only two of the tasks

examined, the percentages in Table 4 show that working daughters provided a smaller proportion of the total hours of help provided for almost all of the tasks. This difference, however, was accompanied by the increased involvement of various other providers. Notably, there was a greater proportionate involvement of paid helpers in all of the instrumental tasks and in the personal care of workers' mothers. There was also greater involvement of sons-in-law and other family members in several of the instrumental tasks. Thus, when daughters worked, the combined contributions of various members of the informal network and helpers paid by the family offset the fewer hours of help provided by working daughters themselves. That is, no one category of provider compensated for these differences. Moreover, there was no significant difference between the 2 work-status groups with respect to utilization of services subsidized by government or agencies. In fact, the use of such services by both groups was minimal.

For almost all tasks, as shown in Figure 1, the proportion  
(insert Figure 1)

of cases in which the daughter was the sole provider of help was also smaller in the working category. The only exception was emotional support, with the percentage of cases in which the daughter was the only provider of help slightly higher in the working category. Figure 1 also shows that, for all tasks except shopping/ transportation, the percentage of mothers helped by the informal network alone was smaller when daughters worked. While Table 3 showed that the hours of help from formal providers alone was not significantly greater in the working group for any task

examined, Figure 1 indicates that, for almost all of the tasks, there was greater involvement of formal providers in combination with the informal network when daughters were employed. This was especially the case for personal care and meal preparation, the two tasks in which the working daughters' contribution had been significantly lower.

It is important to note that the designation "formal providers" on Figure 1 combines the contributions of helpers paid by the family with those subsidized by government/agencies. As noted earlier, there was far more purchased than subsidized help in virtually all of the tasks examined. Only about 8% of the older women in the sample received any subsidized help, the amount of such help was minimal, and the mothers of the working women did not receive more of it than mothers of nonworkers.

Finally, the data revealed that support networks in the working category were more complex than those in the nonworking group. That is, when daughters worked, caregiving networks tended to involve a greater number of helpers in more varied combinations.

#### DISCUSSION

In this community sample of disabled elderly widows, those whose caregiving daughters were employed did not receive fewer hours of service-provision than those with nonworking daughters. Families provided the vast majority of helping services and daughters provided most of that help, even when they were employed.

The work-status of the caregiving daughters was, however, associated with variations in the sources of some kinds of assis-

tance. These variations occurred both in the apportionment of help among the various members of the informal network, and in the overall balance between the informal and formal systems. Working daughters did provide as much affective support as their nonworking peers, and somehow managed to do as much housework/laundry, transportation/grocery shopping, and money management/service arrangement for their mothers. However, when the daughters were in the labor force, the provision of help with two types of tasks -- personal care and meal preparation -- was more often shared by other providers. Notably, helpers paid by the family and, to a much lesser extent, the workers' husbands and other family members, were more involved. For the most part, the services of these paid helpers offset the reduction in the hours of help provided by the daughters themselves. It is obvious that daughters who are at the workplace are not at home to provide the kind of help that requires a daytime presence in the household.

The fact that the working women in our study were of higher socio-economic status than the nonworking women may account in part for the larger amount of purchased care for their mothers. This supposition is supported by the findings of some studies to the effect that caregivers of lower socio-economic status tend to provide more services themselves, while those of higher socio-economic status tend to purchase direct care (Archbold, 1983; Kinnear & Graycar, 1984; Noelker & Poulshock, 1982).

Such findings are consonant with those from a previous PGC survey in which three generations of women were asked about their personal preferences as to who various providers of services

should be in their old age (Brody et al., 1984). Personal care and household help were the kinds of tasks that most of the women were willing to accept from nonfamily members. The forms of help that the majority of women preferred their children (rather than other people) to provide were emotional support, financial management, and grocery shopping. It is striking that in the present study, the daughters provided the overwhelming bulk of help with these very tasks -- a level of assistance that was stable regardless of the daughters' work status.

In this study, when formal services were utilized, they were most often purchased by the older person or family rather than subsidized by government or community agencies. Indeed, the latter had very little involvement in the helping patterns that emerged. Despite common misconceptions to the effect that non-family services play a large role in the care of the disabled aged, this finding is similar to the findings of other, larger surveys, including the classic U.S. General Accounting Office survey of the Cleveland area (Comptroller General, 1977). Similarly, in more recent data from the national 1982 Long-Term Care Survey, only 4.3% of the persons receiving help with activities of daily living (an intense level of caregiving) were being provided with government subsidized assistance from the formal system (Macken, undated). In fact, all formal services together accounted for less than 15% of all "helper days of care" in the community (including home health, homemaker/chore services, adult day care programs, etc.) (Doty et al., 1985).

A caveat in interpreting our findings is that the comparison of working and nonworking women is cross-sectional. That is, the study specifically focused on families in which dependent elderly widows were being cared for in the community. It therefore did not examine the options women may choose at different times in their lives or at different stages in the courses of their parents' increasing disabilities. For example, a hint to the effect that working women may be slightly more likely to place a parent in an institution than to provide care in their own homes appears in a report by Soldo and Sharma (1980). At the same time, other data suggest that caregiving deters the labor force participation of some women (Soldo & Myllyuoma, 1983). Similar evidence emerged from an analysis of another data set from the study being reported here: 28% of the nonworking daughters interviewed had quit their jobs to take care of their disabled mothers, and some of the women who were still working had reduced their working hours or were thinking of quitting (Brody et al., 1984; Brody, 1985).

Certainly, additional research with larger samples and other populations are needed. The situations studied here included only caregivers who were married daughters and only care-recipients who were their elderly widowed mothers. The findings, therefore, do not speak to other patterns of filial care that may obtain when the principal caregiver is a son or an unmarried daughter, or when the older parent is married or is a father. An additional limitation of these data and data from other studies of caregiving is that the information is obtained from the

principal caregivers and therefore reflects only their perceptions of the situations in which they are involved.

It also remains to examine the causal relationships that were at work in determining the patterns described here, and this will be the focus of future analyses. Whatever processes operate, however, our findings suggest that noninstitutionalized dependent elderly are not suffering neglect due to the increased work-force participation of daughters who are their traditional principal caregivers. Moreover, the concern that has been expressed to the effect that women's work-force participation increases the taxpayer's burden by substituting subsidized community services for the women's own help to their parents proved to be unfounded. The employed daughters in this sample continued to provide most of the help received by their dependent mothers. When it was necessary for them to reallocate some of the care to nonfamily providers, services were purchased rather than shifting the economic costs to the community.

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Table 1. Selected Demographic Characteristics of Caregiving Daughters  
by Work Status (n=150)

| Variable                              | Frequencies and Percentages |        |                   |        |                  |        |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------|-------------------|--------|------------------|--------|
|                                       | Nonworking<br>(n=72)        |        | Working<br>(n=78) |        | Total<br>(n=150) |        |
|                                       | n                           | %      | n                 | %      | n                | %      |
| Living Arrangement                    |                             |        |                   |        |                  |        |
| Live apart from mother                | 32                          | (44.4) | 44                | (56.4) | 76               | (50.7) |
| Live with mother                      | 40                          | (55.6) | 34                | (43.6) | 74               | (49.3) |
| Age <sup>a</sup>                      |                             |        |                   |        |                  |        |
| Under 40                              | 12                          | (16.7) | 15                | (19.2) | 27               | (18.0) |
| 40-49                                 | 15                          | (20.8) | 25                | (32.1) | 40               | (26.7) |
| 50-59                                 | 32                          | (44.4) | 30                | (38.5) | 62               | (41.3) |
| 60 and over                           | 13                          | (18.1) | 8                 | (10.3) | 21               | (14.0) |
| Total years of education <sup>a</sup> |                             |        |                   |        |                  |        |
| 10 or less                            | 4                           | ( 5.5) | 1                 | ( 1.3) | 5                | ( 3.3) |
| 11-12                                 | 23                          | (31.9) | 14                | (17.9) | 37               | (24.7) |
| 13-16                                 | 29                          | (40.3) | 34                | (43.6) | 63               | (42.0) |
| 17 or more                            | 16                          | (22.2) | 29                | (37.2) | 45               | (30.0) |
| Race                                  |                             |        |                   |        |                  |        |
| White                                 | 67                          | (93.0) | 72                | (92.3) | 139              | (92.7) |
| Black                                 | 5                           | ( 6.9) | 6                 | ( 7.7) | 11               | ( 7.3) |
| Religion                              |                             |        |                   |        |                  |        |
| Catholic                              | 26                          | (36.1) | 25                | (32.1) | 51               | (34.0) |
| Protestant                            | 27                          | (37.5) | 19                | (24.4) | 46               | (30.7) |
| Jewish                                | 12                          | (16.7) | 24                | (30.8) | 36               | (24.0) |
| Other                                 | 6                           | ( 8.3) | 6                 | ( 7.7) | 12               | ( 8.0) |
| None                                  | 1                           | ( 1.4) | 4                 | ( 2.7) | 5                | ( 3.3) |

(continued)

Table 1. Selected Demographic Characteristics of Caregiving Daughters  
by Work Status (n=150)

| Variable                         | Frequencies and Percentages |        |                   |        |                  |        |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------|-------------------|--------|------------------|--------|
|                                  | Nonworking<br>(n=72)        |        | Working<br>(n=78) |        | Total<br>(n=150) |        |
|                                  | n                           | %      | n                 | %      | n                | %      |
| Age of mother <sup>a</sup>       |                             |        |                   |        |                  |        |
| Under 65                         | 0                           | --     | 3                 | ( 3.8) | 3                | ( 2.0) |
| 65-74                            | 15                          | (20.8) | 18                | (23.1) | 33               | (22.0) |
| 75-84                            | 32                          | (44.4) | 39                | (50.0) | 71               | (47.3) |
| 85 and over                      | 25                          | (34.7) | 18                | (23.1) | 43               | (28.7) |
| Family income <sup>b</sup>       |                             |        |                   |        |                  |        |
| (1-3) Under \$15,000             | 13                          | (18.1) | 4                 | ( 5.1) | 17               | (11.3) |
| (4-5) \$15,000-24,999            | 26                          | (36.1) | 20                | (25.6) | 46               | (30.7) |
| (6-7) \$25,000-34,999            | 16                          | (22.2) | 21                | (26.9) | 37               | (24.7) |
| (8-9) \$35,000-44,999            | 7                           | ( 9.7) | 18                | (23.1) | 25               | (16.7) |
| (10-11) \$45,000 and over        | 10                          | (13.9) | 15                | (19.2) | 25               | (16.7) |
| Occupational status <sup>c</sup> |                             |        |                   |        |                  |        |
| Skilled and unskilled labor      | 13                          | (18.3) | 3                 | ( 3.8) | 16               | (10.7) |
| Clerical, sales, technicians     | 49                          | (69.0) | 57                | (73.1) | 106              | (71.1) |
| Professional                     | 9                           | (12.7) | 18                | (23.1) | 28               | (18.1) |

<sup>a</sup> Age of respondents: range = 25-70,  $\bar{M}$  = 49.7,  $SD$  = 9.4; total years of education: range = 7-31,  $\bar{M}$  = 15.94,  $SD$  = 4.82. Age of respondents' mothers: range = 62-99,  $\bar{M}$  = 79.9,  $SD$  = 7.8.

<sup>b</sup> Family income:  $\bar{M}$  = 6.7,  $SD$  = 2.6.

<sup>c</sup> For nonworkers, refers to previous jobs; for workers, refers to current jobs.

Table 2. Hours of Help Per Week Received by Elderly Mothers

| Task                              | Nonworking Daughters |                               | Working Daughters |                               | Total: Nonworking and Working |                                |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
|                                   | Hours<br><u>M</u>    | %<br>Receiving<br>Help (N=72) | Hours<br><u>M</u> | %<br>Receiving<br>Help (N=78) | Hours<br><u>M</u>             | %<br>Receiving<br>Help (N=150) |
| Personal Care                     | 11.0                 | 61.1                          | 9.98              | 43.6                          | 10.6                          | 52.0                           |
| Instrumental Tasks:               |                      |                               |                   |                               |                               |                                |
| Housework/Laundry                 | 8.1                  | 78.0                          | 6.3               | 69.2                          | 7.2                           | 73.0                           |
| Meal Preparation                  | 8.9                  | 62.5                          | 7.0               | 49.0                          | 8.0                           | 55.3                           |
| Using the Telephone               | 1.7                  | 30.5                          | 1.4               | 19.2                          | 1.6                           | 24.6                           |
| Managing Money/Arranging Services | 2.2                  | 78.0                          | 2.1               | 75.6                          | 2.2                           | 76.6                           |
| Shopping/Transportation           | 5.1                  | 89.0                          | 4.6               | 91.0                          | 4.8                           | 90.0                           |
| Emotional Support                 | 15.4                 | 85.0                          | 10.3              | 92.3                          | 12.6                          | 88.6                           |

Note: t-tests revealed no significant differences in average hours of care received in the two work-status groups for any task examined ( $p < .05$ ).

Table 3. Mothers' Functional Ability Scores and Hours of Help Received  
Per Week

| Task                                                  | Nonworking Daughters<br>(n=72) |           |                        |           | Working Daughters<br>(n=78) |           |                        |           |
|-------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------|------------------------|-----------|-----------------------------|-----------|------------------------|-----------|
|                                                       | Functional Ability Scores      |           | Hours of Help Received |           | Functional Ability Scores   |           | Hours of Help Received |           |
|                                                       | <u>M</u>                       | <u>SD</u> | <u>M</u>               | <u>SD</u> | <u>M</u>                    | <u>SD</u> | <u>M</u>               | <u>SD</u> |
| Personal Self-Maintenance<br>(range: 9-27)            | 24.1                           | (4.5)     | 11.0                   | (12.9)    | 25.4                        | (3.5)     | 9.9                    | (15.7)    |
| Instrumental Activities <sup>a</sup><br>(range: 6-18) | 12.8                           | (4.3)     | 6.2                    | ( 7.8)    | 13.9                        | (3.7)     | 4.5                    | ( 4.8)    |
| Shopping/Transportation<br>(range: 3-6)               | 3.7                            | (1.6)     | 5.1                    | ( 3.5)    | 4.0                         | (1.2)     | 4.6                    | ( 3.1)    |

<sup>a</sup> A composite score for the tasks of housework/laundry, meal preparation, using the telephone, and managing money/arranging needed services.

Table 4. Hours of Help Per Week by Provider

| Task                                        | Nonworking Daughters |    |                                 | Working Daughters |    |                                 | Total: Nonworking and Working |     |                                 | Significant<br>t Scores<br>(p < .05) |
|---------------------------------------------|----------------------|----|---------------------------------|-------------------|----|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
|                                             | Hours<br>M           | n  | % of<br>Total Hrs. <sup>a</sup> | Hours<br>M        | n  | % of<br>Total Hrs. <sup>a</sup> | Hours<br>M                    | n   | % of<br>Total Hrs. <sup>a</sup> |                                      |
| <u>Personal Care</u>                        |                      |    |                                 |                   |    |                                 |                               |     |                                 |                                      |
| Daughter                                    | 10.2                 | 39 | 81.0                            | 4.9               | 30 | 43.7                            | 7.9                           | 69  | 65.6                            | 2.52                                 |
| Daughter's Husband                          | 2.3                  | 11 | 5.1                             | 1.9               | 4  | 2.2                             | 2.2                           | 15  | 3.9                             |                                      |
| Others in Daughter's Household              | 1.7                  | 7  | 2.4                             | 1.6               | 6  | 3.0                             | 1.6                           | 13  | 2.6                             |                                      |
| Other (outside) Family Members              | 3.2                  | 10 | 6.5                             | 2.1               | 9  | 5.7                             | 2.7                           | 19  | 6.1                             |                                      |
| Friends/Neighbors                           | --                   | -- | --                              | 5.0               | 1  | 1.6                             | 5.0                           | 1   | .6                              |                                      |
| Helpers Paid by Family                      | 5.2                  | 5  | 5.2                             | 13.1              | 11 | 42.5                            | 10.6                          | 16  | 20.4                            |                                      |
| Government Subsidized/Agency<br>Helpers     | --                   | -- | --                              | 5.0               | 1  | .6                              | 5.0                           | 1   | .6                              |                                      |
| No. of Mothers Receiving Help: <sup>b</sup> |                      | 44 |                                 |                   | 34 |                                 |                               | 78  |                                 |                                      |
| <u>Instrumental Tasks:</u>                  |                      |    |                                 |                   |    |                                 |                               |     |                                 |                                      |
| <u>Housework/Laundry</u>                    |                      |    |                                 |                   |    |                                 |                               |     |                                 |                                      |
| Daughter                                    | 7.6                  | 47 | 79.0                            | 4.1               | 45 | 54.4                            | 5.9                           | 92  | 68.4                            | 2.22                                 |
| Daughter's Husband                          | 2.2                  | 7  | 3.4                             | 2.3               | 8  | 5.3                             | 2.2                           | 15  | 4.2                             |                                      |
| Others in Daughter's Household              | 1.3                  | 3  | .8                              | 2.9               | 9  | 7.6                             | 2.5                           | 12  | 3.7                             |                                      |
| Other (outside) Family Members              | 3.3                  | 9  | 6.5                             | 2.3               | 16 | 10.7                            | 2.7                           | 25  | 8.3                             |                                      |
| Friends/Neighbors                           | --                   | -- | --                              | 1.0               | 2  | .6                              | 1.0                           | 2   | .2                              |                                      |
| Helpers Paid by Family                      | 2.7                  | 17 | 10.2                            | 3.5               | 20 | 20.8                            | 3.1                           | 37  | 14.7                            |                                      |
| Government Subsidized/Agency<br>Helpers     | --                   | -- | --                              | 2.0               | 1  | .6                              | 2.0                           | 1   | .2                              |                                      |
| No. of Mothers Receiving Help: <sup>b</sup> |                      | 56 |                                 |                   | 54 |                                 |                               | 110 |                                 |                                      |

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Table 4. Hours of Help Per Week by Provider

| Task                                        | Nonworking Daughters |    |                              | Working Daughters |    |                              | Total: Nonworking and Working |    |                              | Significant t Scores (p<.05) |
|---------------------------------------------|----------------------|----|------------------------------|-------------------|----|------------------------------|-------------------------------|----|------------------------------|------------------------------|
|                                             | Hours <u>M</u>       | n  | % of Total Hrs. <sup>a</sup> | Hours <u>M</u>    | n  | % of Total Hrs. <sup>a</sup> | Hours <u>M</u>                | n  | % of Total Hrs. <sup>a</sup> |                              |
| <u>Instrumental Tasks</u>                   |                      |    |                              |                   |    |                              |                               |    |                              |                              |
| <u>Meal Preparation</u>                     |                      |    |                              |                   |    |                              |                               |    |                              |                              |
| Daughter                                    | 8.2                  | 42 | 85.0                         | 4.7               | 36 | 62.6                         | 6.6                           | 78 | 76.4                         | 2.98                         |
| Daughter's Husband                          | 1.7                  | 4  | 1.7                          | 2.4               | 7  | 6.2                          | 2.2                           | 11 | 3.5                          |                              |
| Others in Daughter's Household              | 2.5                  | 2  | 1.2                          | 2.9               | 3  | 3.2                          | 2.7                           | 5  | 2.1                          |                              |
| Other (outside) Family Members              | 6.8                  | 4  | 6.7                          | 2.2               | 4  | 3.3                          | 4.5                           | 8  | 5.4                          |                              |
| Friends/Neighbors                           | --                   | -- | --                           | 20.0              | 1  | 7.4                          | 20.0                          | 1  | 2.9                          |                              |
| Helpers Paid by Family                      | 8.5                  | 2  | 4.2                          | 5.5               | 8  | 16.5                         | 6.1                           | 10 | 9.1                          |                              |
| Government Subsidized/Agency Helpers        | 3.0                  | 1  | .7                           | 1.0               | 1  | .3                           | 2.0                           | 2  | .6                           |                              |
| No. of Mothers Receiving Help: <sup>b</sup> |                      | 45 |                              |                   | 38 |                              |                               | 83 |                              |                              |
| <u>Using Telephone</u>                      |                      |    |                              |                   |    |                              |                               |    |                              |                              |
| Daughter                                    | 1.4                  | 22 | 81.3                         | 1.1               | 15 | 71.6                         | 1.3                           | 37 | 77.8                         |                              |
| Daughter's Husband                          | 1.0                  | 2  | 5.3                          | 1.0               | 1  | 4.7                          | 1.0                           | 3  | 5.1                          |                              |
| Others in Daughter's Household              | 1.0                  | 2  | 5.3                          | 1.0               | 2  | 9.4                          | 1.0                           | 4  | 6.7                          |                              |
| Other (outside) Family Members              | 1.0                  | 3  | 8.0                          | 1.0               | 1  | 4.7                          | 1.0                           | 4  | 6.8                          |                              |
| Friends/Neighbors                           | --                   | -- | --                           | --                | -- | --                           | --                            | 0  | --                           |                              |
| Helpers Paid by Family                      | --                   | -- | --                           | 1.0               | 2  | 11.6                         | 1.0                           | 2  | 4.2                          |                              |
| Government Subsidized/Agency Helpers        | --                   | -- | --                           | --                | -- | --                           | --                            | 0  | --                           |                              |
| No. of Mothers Receiving Help: <sup>b</sup> |                      | 22 |                              |                   | 15 |                              |                               | 37 |                              |                              |

Table 4. Hours of Help Per Week by Provider

| Task                                        | Nonworking Daughters |    |                              | Working Daughters |    |                              | Total: Nonworking and Working |     |                              | Significant t Scores (p < .05) |
|---------------------------------------------|----------------------|----|------------------------------|-------------------|----|------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
|                                             | Hours M              | n  | % of Total Hrs. <sup>a</sup> | Hours M           | n  | % of Total Hrs. <sup>a</sup> | Hours M                       | n   | % of Total Hrs. <sup>a</sup> |                                |
| <u>Instrumental Tasks (concluded):</u>      |                      |    |                              |                   |    |                              |                               |     |                              |                                |
| <u>Managing Money/Arranging Services</u>    |                      |    |                              |                   |    |                              |                               |     |                              |                                |
| Daughter                                    | 1.5                  | 52 | 64.5                         | 1.3               | 54 | 56.5                         | 1.4                           | 106 | 60.5                         |                                |
| Daughter's Husband                          | 1.2                  | 8  | 7.6                          | 1.5               | 12 | 14.5                         | 1.4                           | 20  | 11.1                         |                                |
| Others in Daughter's Household              | 1.0                  | 1  | .8                           | 1.0               | 1  | .8                           | 1.0                           | 2   | .8                           |                                |
| Other (outside) Family Members              | 1.9                  | 17 | 26.2                         | 1.4               | 17 | 18.5                         | 1.6                           | 34  | 22.4                         |                                |
| Friends/Neighbors                           | --                   | -- | --                           | 1.0               | 1  | 0.0                          | 1.0                           | 1   | .4                           |                                |
| Helpers Paid by Family                      | 1.0                  | 1  | .8                           | 5.5               | 2  | 8.8                          | 4.0                           | 3   | 4.8                          |                                |
| Government Subsidized/Agency Helpers        | --                   | -- | --                           | --                | -- | --                           | --                            | 0   | --                           |                                |
| No. of Mothers Receiving Help: <sup>b</sup> |                      | 56 |                              |                   | 59 |                              |                               | 115 |                              |                                |
| <u>Shopping/Transportation</u>              |                      |    |                              |                   |    |                              |                               |     |                              |                                |
| Daughter                                    | 3.7                  | 60 | 68.6                         | 2.9               | 67 | 62.3                         | 3.3                           | 127 | 65.4                         |                                |
| Daughter's Husband                          | 1.6                  | 23 | 11.4                         | 1.4               | 25 | 10.7                         | 1.5                           | 48  | 11.1                         |                                |
| Others in Daughter's Household              | 1.7                  | 3  | 1.5                          | 1.5               | 10 | 4.5                          | 1.6                           | 13  | 3.0                          |                                |
| Other (outside) Family Members              | 1.5                  | 21 | 9.9                          | 1.9               | 26 | 15.4                         | 1.7                           | 47  | 12.7                         |                                |
| Friends/Neighbors                           | 3.2                  | 6  | 5.8                          | 1.9               | 3  | 1.7                          | 2.8                           | 9   | 3.8                          |                                |
| Helpers Paid by Family                      | 1.4                  | 5  | 2.1                          | 1.9               | 8  | 4.6                          | 1.7                           | 13  | 3.4                          |                                |
| Government Subsidized/Agency Helpers        | 1.0                  | 2  | .6                           | 1.0               | 2  | .6                           | 1.0                           | 4   | .6                           |                                |
| No. of Mothers Receiving Help: <sup>b</sup> |                      | 64 |                              |                   | 71 |                              |                               | 135 |                              |                                |

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Table 4. Hours of Help Per Week by Provider

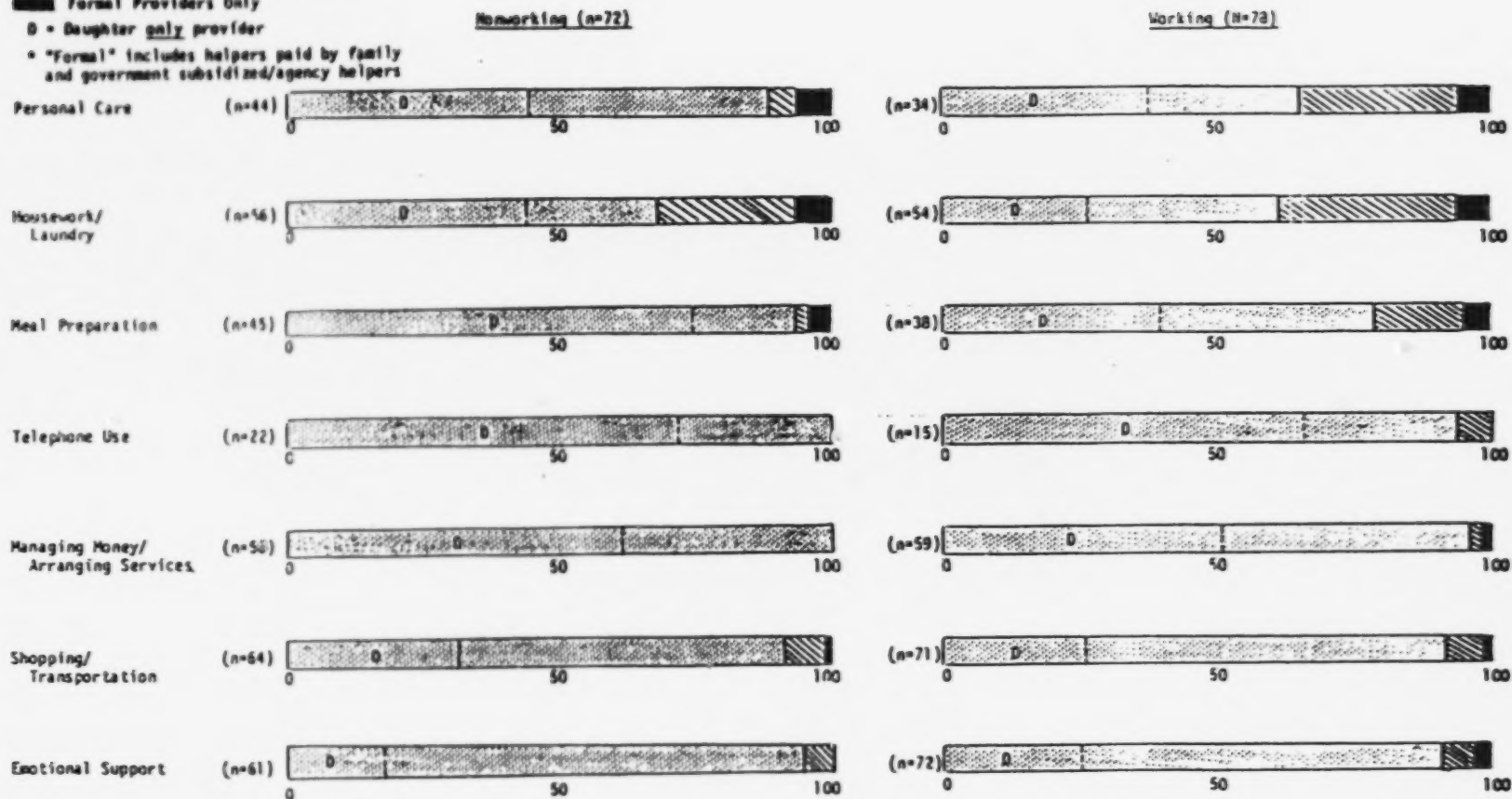
| Task                                        | Nonworking Daughters |    |                                 | Working Daughters |    |                                 | Total: Nonworking and Working |     |                                 | Significant<br>t Scores<br>(p < .05) |
|---------------------------------------------|----------------------|----|---------------------------------|-------------------|----|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
|                                             | Hours<br>M           | n  | % of<br>Total Hrs. <sup>a</sup> | Hours<br>M        | n  | % of<br>Total Hrs. <sup>a</sup> | Hours<br>M                    | n   | % of<br>Total Hrs. <sup>a</sup> |                                      |
| <u>Emotional Support</u>                    |                      |    |                                 |                   |    |                                 |                               |     |                                 |                                      |
| Daughter                                    | 9.1                  | 54 | 52.0                            | 6.3               | 63 | 53.3                            | 7.6                           | 117 | 52.6                            |                                      |
| Daughter's Husband                          | 5.1                  | 15 | 8.1                             | 2.1               | 12 | 3.3                             | 3.8                           | 27  | 6.0                             |                                      |
| Others in Daughter's Household              | 17.3                 | 5  | 9.2                             | 4.6               | 5  | 3.1                             | 11.0                          | 10  | 6.5                             |                                      |
| Other (outside) Family Members              | 6.9                  | 30 | 22.2                            | 4.4               | 36 | 21.4                            | 5.5                           | 66  | 21.8                            |                                      |
| Friends/Neighbors                           | 3.8                  | 13 | 5.3                             | 4.3               | 14 | 8.2                             | 4.1                           | 27  | 6.6                             |                                      |
| Helpers Paid by Family                      | 9.3                  | 3  | 2.9                             | 15.4              | 5  | 10.4                            | 13.1                          | 8   | 6.2                             |                                      |
| Government Subsidized/Agency<br>Helpers     | 1.0                  | 2  | .2                              | 1.0               | 2  | .3                              | 1.0                           | 4   | .2                              |                                      |
| No. of Mothers Receiving Help: <sup>b</sup> |                      | 61 |                                 |                   | 72 |                                 |                               | 133 |                                 |                                      |

<sup>a</sup> Represents each provider's proportionate contribution to total hours of help given for each task; percentages may not total 100 because of rounding.

<sup>b</sup> These figures represent the number of mothers who were receiving help with that particular task. The n's corresponding to the various hours of help are the number of those cases in which each provider was involved.

Figure 1. Sources of Help (Percent Distribution)

-  Informal Providers Only
-  Combination: Informal and Formal\*
-  Formal Providers Only
-  D = Daughter only provider
- \* "Formal" includes helpers paid by family and government subsidized/agency helpers



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